*+++++U: N °C:\L::A:|S\\S:\I\F:\I\\E::D+++++\$:\COPY

ADA936 DHAD #3986/1:1720815 7262 JUN 75 MEMBASSY TEL AVIV

SECSTATE WASHOC 7169

FO AMEMBASSY CAIRO 4948

CLAS SECTION 1 OF 3 TEL AVIV 3986

F.O., 116521 N/A AGS1 PFOR, XF, 18, US, 2EG DBJECT1 HARIF ARTICLEHON GOINVIEWS REMINTERIM AGREEMENT

A. FOLLOWING ISCEMBASSY TRANSLATION JUNE 28 OF ARTICLE BY MAARIV POLITICAL COMMENTATOR JOSEPH HARIF ON ISRAELI CABINET VIEWS: TOWARD INTERIM GOE/GOI AGREEMENT.

R. BEGIN TEXT: THE CONCESSION WHICH YITZHAK RABIN MADE IN WASH INGTON: GIVING A TERRITORIAL STRIP TO EGYPT AT ABU RODEIS. (HE AGREED TO THAT FOLLOWING MINTS BY FORD THAT EGYPT HAS SOFTENED HER STAND CONCERNING THE DURATION OF THE PARTIAL SETTLEMENT. /ON THE OTHER HAND HE DID NOT CONCEDE THE POSITION ON THE EASTERN SIDE OF THE PASSES. / RABIN HAS AN ARGUMENT NOT ONLY WITH THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, BUT ALSO WITH HIS COLLEAGUES IN THE CABINET. (COMMENTARY BY JOSEPH MARIE).

TO KNOW WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BROUGHT WITH HIM FROM MIS VISIT TO THE U.S. AS THIS TIME, WHEN THEY GATHERED ON TUESDAY FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY CASINET SESSION TO HEAR RABIN'S REPORT ON MIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND THE HEADS OF THE ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON, FIRST OF ALL, BECAUSE UNTIL HIS RETURN FROM THE U.S. RABIN DID NOT TLEAKT A WORD TO ANYONE SURPRISINGLY NOT EVEN TO FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON. ALLON HAD TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE ARRANGEMENT BETHERN MINSTER AND THE RRIME MINISTER THAT, AS HE BUT IT, ONLY IF HE NEEDED, ADVICEDR A DECISION BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE COURSE OF THE VISIT ME WOULD CONTACT HIM. APPARENTLY RABIN THOUGHT HE DID NOT NEED ANY ADVICE FROM HOME. ON HIS OWN ACCORD HE DECIDED THEN AND THERE TO OFFER A FURTHER CONCESSION TO EGYPT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE

PBN:026013

RECALLED PAGE 01

TORK 172/14/532 DTG 12107262 JUN 75

DECISION, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD ADOPTED ON THE EVE OF RABIN'S DEPARTURE FOR THE U.S., "TO REMEXAMINE ITS STAND PARALLEL TO ANY SUCH CHANGES AS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE EGYPTIAN STAND. STAND. SO RABIN EXAMINED AND DECIDED WHAT HE DID, ON HIS OWN.

A. SECONDLY, THE OTHER REASON FOR THE GREAT CURIOSITY OF THE CABINET MEMBERS DERIVED, APPARENTLY, FROM THE REALIZATION THAT THE PRIME HINISTER'S JOURNEY THIS TIME WAS PATEFUL (AS MINISTER SHEME TOY SAID IN THE CABINET).

THE MAN WHO WAS LEAST EXCITED OF ALL WAS LEAST EXCITED OF ALL WAS APPARENTLY THE PRIME MINISTER, AS IS REFLECTED BY THE RACTITHAT, DESPITE CONCEALED THREATS AND NOT SO CONCEALED PRESSURES BY WASHINGTON HE REMAINED PADAMANTS DURING HIS VISIT AND THEREAFTER.

B. WHEN THE PRIME HIMISTER WAS ASKED AT THE CASINET SESSION WHAT HIS EVALUATION WAS CONCERNING THE CHANCES OF REACHING AND INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT NOW, IN THE LIGHT OF THE CLARIFICATIONS THE THE U.S. THE REPLIED THE BESTHAN BOLL 500. THERE WERE QUITE A NUMBER OF CABINET MEMBERS WHO WERE PRODABLY SURPRISED TO HEAR THAT, FROM THE PRIME MINISTER (S. REPORT IT EMERGED) THAT PRESIDENT FORD IS DETERMINED TO DO EVERYTHING IN ORDER TO PREVENT: A CONTINUATION OF THE STACEMATE IN THIS REGION FIRES MEANS: THAT (NITHOUT THE PRESIDENT MAYING EXPLICITLY SAID SO) AS LONG AS NOTHING MASS MICKED AS AND SHOUSETTLEMENT MAS BEEN REACHED, ISRAEL, HOULD HAYE GREAT DIFFICULTIES AS MAR ASSAIDS IS CONCERNED! THE CRISIS IN U.S. AISRAELI RELATIONS HOULD BE AGGRAVA-TED! WASHINGTON WON'T BE ABLE TO SIT IDLE AND WOULD BE FORGED TO TAKE A NEW INITIATIVE WHICH WOULD NOT EXACTLY BE TO ISPAEL S. CIKING, A U.S. PLAN FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT HOULD BE PRESENTED. THIS IS THE WHIP WHICH IS BEING APPLIED ON ISRAEL AS LONG AS WASHINGTON WANTS TO MAKE IT CLEAR WHAT TROUBLE ISRAEL ISCLIBLES TO LET HERSELF IN FOR IPSHE DOES NOT SHOW THE REQUIRED FLEXIBILITY! THE[WORD] HOVERALLH! (BETTEEMENT) TISSEBUITVALENTTO ARRETURNTTOSTMES 1967 BORDERS!

BO NEVERTHELESS RABINEDID NOT SHOW, AT THE SPECIAL CABINET SESSION, ANY SIGN OF WILLINGNESS TO ABANDON HIS POSITION, AS HE DESCRIBED IT JUST BEFORE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON, MOREOVER, SOME OF THE MINISTERS GOTTHE IMPRESSION THAT IF THE ISRAELI STAND WE WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDS AS RATHER BENEROUS AS DONE AS THE SUBJECT ON THE AGENDALIS A LIMITED AGREEMENT AND NOT A BROAD AGREEMENT WITHIN

THE PRAMEWORK OF WHICH EGYPT HAS TO COMMIT HERSELF TO NON-BELLIGERENCE IS NOT ACCEPTED, HE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO BRING ABOUT A SEVERANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS A SECOND TIME!

ONE OF THE STRIKING THINGS IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION IN JERUSALEM-WASHINGTON RELA

PSN1826813 PAGE 82

TORI 172714:532 DTG#2187262 JUN 75

********U.N.C.L.A.SASAITFAI.E.D*******CORY

TIONS WHICH PERHAPS HAD RELAXED BUT BY NO MEANS DISAPPEARED, WAS THAT RASIN SHOWED HILLINGNESS TO MAKE A FURTHER STEP TOWARDS THE U.S., RATHER THAN TOWARDS EGYPT, IN THE CLEAR REALIZATION THAT A CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S. MUST BE AVOIDED; BUT ON THE OTHER HAND HE LEFT THE AMERICANS IN DOUBT AS TO THE FINAL LIMIT OF ISRAEL'S CONCESSIONS, IN OTHER WORDS, THE PRIME MINISTER CREATED AS SITUATION IN WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION CANNOT ACCUSE HIM OF RIGIDITY AND OF PREVENTING ANY THOUGH, WITHOUT HIS MAYING CONCEDED, IN HIS EVALUATION, ANY BASIC REQUIREMENT ESPECIALLY AS PAR AS A FACTOR OF MILITARY STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE IS CONCERNED.

WHEN RABIN HEARD FROM PRESIDENT FORD THAT HE COULD DISCERN A MOVEN WITH THE EGYPTIANS AND THAT THERE WAS A CHANCE THAT CAIRD HOULD ARREST TO AN EXTENSION OF THE PRESIDE OF TIMES A COMPONENT OF THE INTERIM SETTLEMENT TO WHICH ISRAEL ATTACHES SO MUCH IMPORTANCE WIT WAS CLEAR THAT HE COULD NOT GO ON MARKING TIMES, THE PRESIDENT SPOKE FROANKLY ABOUT HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE STALEMATE WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED (NOW THE WORD IS STALEMATE) AND ABOUT THE DANGERS IN THE NON-ACHIEVEMENT OF AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT HITH EGYPT, NOT TO MENTION THE JOINT INTEREST WHICH ISRAEL AND THE U.S. OUGHT TO HAVE IN CREATING A REALITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT HOULD BE DISTRABLE FOR ISRAEL NO LESS THAN FOR THE U.S. THE CURTILMENT OF SOVIET INFLUENCETAIN LIBRARY OF SOVIET INFLUENCETAIN

AT THE SAME OCCASION, ALTHOUGH FORD COULD NOT SHOW THAT HE HAD SOMETHING CONCRETE IN MIS HAND WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED FROM EBYPT, THE PRIME MINISTER FOUND HIMSELF CHAVING CONSULTED HIS OWN WISDOM) OFFERING AN ISRAELI CONCESSION WRESPONDING TO THE DEMAND TO PROVIDE EGYPT WITH TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY TO ABU RODEIS.

TO THEFRAMEWORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN MARCH, ISRAEL HAD BT

RECALLED:

OF 03

TOR4172/14:531

DTG4210726Z JUN 75

*******U N: C: L:A.SESSIFFEITE:D************

*******U.N.COLS A/SSSCISFEISED#*****SSCOPY

DR IMMED ESAPSAADADSO DE RUQHAD #3985/2 1721219 0 2187262 JUN 75 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV

TO SECSTATE WASHOC 7190

INFO: AMEMBASSY CAIRO 4849

UNCLASSECTION 2 OF 3 TELEAVIVE 3986

E.O. 116521 N/A TÄGSÍ PFOR «XF. IS. US. EG AGREED THAT THE DILETTELDS OF ABU RODEIS AND SURROUNDINGS HOULD BE MANDED OVERSTO -EGYPTIAN CIVILIAN RULE, ACCORDING TO THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL, TWASBANKENCEXVERTHEBAPPROACHBTOWWHICH WASPROMBTNEDISEALITHESTIME the pathe minister... Agreed to put for hit for the traduction of the tradicion of story. AND AGREED TO THE IDEA/OF TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY FROM LAND AS WELL CIN PRINCIPLE, TECHNICALLY, THE AREA WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED. BECAUSE NOT FAR AWAY ISHAN ISRAELIHROAD, LEADING TORELSTUR APPROACHING SHARM ES SHEIKH), SUT REFUSED TO ASREE TO A COMPLETE CONCESSION OF THE PASSES. HERINSISTED THAT THE EXSTERN PART OF the passes remain in Israell (Hands) ? Por The Sake of Faccuracy : EVENCTHE ADDITIONAL CONCESSION AT ABU RODEIS IS CONTINGENT SUPON egypty 8% agreement "to sextend the Duration of The Lagreement up: TO S .. 5 YEARS.

WHY DID THE PRIME MINISTER SEE FIT TO MAKE THE CONCESSION, WHEN IT HAS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER A PARALLEL CONCESSION, CONCERNING THE PERIOD OF TIME, WAS TO BE REBARDED AS FACT? HE COULD MAYE WAITED AND SEEN WHAT EGYPT WOULD PROPOSE AND ONLY AFTERWARDS HE COULD HAVE ANNOUNCED THE ISRAELI CONCESSION. ADMITTEDLY, FOR THE TIME BEING IT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR WHAT ESYPT SESTAND IS, BUT IS IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT IP THE U.S. PRESIDENT, WHO PERSONALLY TALKED WITH SADAT ABOUT THE COMPONENTS OF THE SETTLES MENT WITH ISRAEL SAYS THAT HE ASSUMED THAT THERE IS A CHANCE THAT EGYPT WILL SOFTEN ON THE QUESTION OF THE TIME PERIOD OF THE AGREEMENT, THIS IS APPARENTLY MORE THAN A MERE ASSUMPTION. AGREEMENT, THIS IS APPARENTLY MORE THAN A MERE ASSUMPTION. ADDITIONS OF THE TOWARDS ISRAEL, AND IT IS SECONING CLEAR THAT FORD AND KISSINGER HAVE ALREADY TRIED TO PREPARE RABIN PROYCHOLOGICALLY AND KISSINGER HAVE ALREADY TRIED TO PREPARE RABIN PROYCHOLOGICALLY AND KISSINGER HAVE ALREADY TRIED TO PREPARE RABIN PROYCHOLOGICALLY TO THE SECONING CLEAR THAT FORD

PSN:026816

RECALLED Page 01

TOR: 172/14:562

OTERRIORAGE JUN 75

********* NIC. LIA SESSIFF I TO De*******

00000005555555550500 LASS SIFE I E 04444445 QOFY

FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE EGYPTIAN COMMITMENT WOULD BE GIVEN TO THE U.S. MOULD COMMIT HERSELF TOWARDS ISRAEL CIN MARCH EGYPT WAS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO SUCH A PROPOSAL. AS ISRAEL DEMANDED) . HOWEVER, EVEN THE INDIRECT COMMITMENT FOR A PERIOD OF 3 YEARS WAS ONLY DISCUSSED IN PRINCIPLE.

NOWETTEREMAINSPEORBERSEENE WHETHEREEBYRTENTLLEAGREEPTOUITTAND WHAT PRICE SHE WILL DEMAND FOR THAT "CONCESSION". IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSUME THAT EGYPT WILL KRASICY ABANDON HER DEMAND THAT ISRAEL CON-Cedenthenentire (passes) ithis is creenars. The reason what the perine (Minister: Haspprepared The Enthisters for Labsituations in Enhithment The Edman: CES OF REACHING A SETTLEN ment, are less than serercent, because rabin on Miscraff Habinot, SO FAR, SHOWN ANY SIGN OF WILLENGNESS TO ABANDON THE ENTIRE PASSES! dnik-orobetalreardnar (rerhabastike-mort) inbortant) (dnik-star) (dnik-star) IFEEBYPT SHOULD COMMIT MERSELFENOTSTOTINTERVENE IN CASE INC AGREEMENT IS REACHED BETWEEN ISRAELS AND SYRIA, ZITTISSNOT CERTAINS THAT RESPRENCE HOULD INDEED STANDS TOLY SAY IN THEREVENT OF SAMESUMETION BF WAR IN THE NORTH WAND SINCE BERYPT IS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT HERE. BELF TO NON-BELLIGERENCY, ONLY TO THE THON-USE OF FORCES RABINETS NOT PREPARED TO RELY ON EGYPTISE FAIRNESS AND HONESTY. BUT WANTESTO GOS ON MOLDING ON TO THE BEASTERN PARTS OF THE PASSES. which the lay sinterabinishes exalibration; . Officer rate of colimbor tanger.

111. MINISTERMGAD YAAGODI STRENGTHENED THIS ARGUMENT repring crimes minister? With and additional motivation (The very fact: of eryptis insistence for the evacuation of the entire passes arouses: SEVERE BUSPICIONS THAT EGYPT DOES NOT REALLY HAVE AND INTERIN \$ETTLEMENT MEANT STOPRAYERTHE WAY TOWARDS PREACELTHUMEND PROPERMENTS to strengthen Her Military Obtion in Trying to Bring About Ibraelis: total: withoravala: promethis: vienboint hinister: shedho: hiller; was: EVEN MORE EXTREME, HE THINKS THAT WITHIN THE PRAMEHORK OF A LIMITA ED AGREEMENT ISRAEL NEED NOT GIVE UP THE PASSES AT ALL CAND THISS was indeed the original istand of the israelt negotiating team and: THE GOVERNMENT).

- Another reason for rabin's inilitioneness to coffee Atready sate THISBSTAGE: THEOCONCESSIONDOF: ABUDROCESS ~ - ADMITTEDLY FON CONDITIONAL - LIES IN THE TANDENCY TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR ISRAEL & FRIENDS TO CONTINUE TO STAND BY HER SIDE. THE ADMINISTRATION S TREASSESS MENTY WHOSE MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO EXERT A SERIES OF PRESSURES DN: IBRAEL, HAD NOT BORNERTHEREXRECTED/FRUIT, ISRAELIKS REPLY HAD BEENE THE SENATORS ! SETTERS : THE ADMINISTRATION DID NOT CONCEAL! its dismay attithis initiative on the part of israely which; and DOUBT: MADE THINGS MORE DIRFICULT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION. BUT "PRECISELY (FOR THAT "REASON" IT WAS IMPORTANT (TO "PRESERVE) THE HERATORS! LETTER" AS AN HASSETH AND NOTITO LETTIT GO UP IN IN SMOKE, INTER ALIA, IT SAYS IN THAT LETTER, SIGNED BY 70 OUT OF 99 SENATORS, THAT "THE HISTORY OF THE ARABHISRAELI CONFLICT

PSN1026016

RECALLED PASE 02

TORITZZZIAŁŚCZ OTGIZECZZCZEJUNEZS

0000000083385340500 L.A.S.S.I.P.I.E. D****** COPY

PROVES THAT EVERY ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL MAS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY MEANINGPUL STERS TOWARDS REACE ON THE PART OP HER ARAB MEIGHBORS!, IS PREPARED TO MAKE MALE MAINGPUL STEP! - LIKE AGREEING TO AN EXTENSION OF THE DURAL ATION OF THE AGREEMENT SO THIS WOULD MAVE PLACED ISRAEL IN A DIFFICULT POSITION.

IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT MANY OF THE SIGNATORIES OF THE LETTER WOULD MAVE ARGUED WITH ISRAEL THAT UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE SOME KIND OF CONCESSION WOULD PREVENT AN INTERIMISETTLEMENT, PRECISELY AT A TIME WHEN EGYPT SHOWS A MARKED DESIRE TO EFFECT A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE U.S.

<u>tsi (thus, rabinihasomadeoa caldulated movel, mehmadeoa (concession)</u> WHICH DOES NOT CAUSE GRAVE HARM KROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW AND HAS THUS PUT THE U.S. AS WELL AS EGYPT TO THE TEST. KEGYPT ntilihayerto prove uhetherosherindeed heans to makerasconcrete: CONCESSION REGARDING THE DURATION OF THE AGREEMENT) portineds akedoptreaching (and interthosettlement) (the dups HILL NOTEBELABLE TO CLAIM THAT ISRAELS IS INTRANSIGENT, AND THE utati nilli have to prove whether shells able to influence isbarl Alone by Means of Herrereasesshengy Italiotho The One in the Brhere: Of Hardware: And/Economic: Aid: Now The U.S. Has to Transper the Balle into The Degretian Fields: HITHOUT SHAVING FOIVEN IN TOGISRAEL IN THE MATTER FOF STHEFRASSES & eventiemedypt onould:Agree; Deventually, Dto Extendathesouration:Of: 平村世纪《白色世世科世代学》中《日子》的在文化的《白色》《ANSTADIRE《中》(COMMS中州世科学》中《古代史》的主任》 MOST LIKELY NOT POSSOCHITHOUT TRYING TO EXTORT FROM LIGRARUSSOME MORE CONCESSIONS.

THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT WILL STAND THE TEST THAT IS AHEAD IN THE NEXT PEN DAYS, IF HE ARE TO JUDGE BY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN THE CABINET, IT SEEMS THAT THE MATTER LARGELY DEPENDS ON ONE MAN VITZHAK RASIN - WHO, TO THE AMAZEMENT OF THE DOVES IN THE GOVERNMENT, SHOWS A STRONG AND FIRM STAND. THAT IS WHAT IT WAS SEEDRE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON, AND THAT IS WHAT IT SEEMS TO BE AFTER HERMAS COME BACK FROM THE U.S. ...

PSN1026816

RECALLED PAGE 03

OF 03

TOR: 172/14:562

OT64216728Z JUN 7

·******UNCELLA/SES/IFFILE D********COPY

OP.IMMED ESARROADASER: DE:RUQMAD:#3986/3:1721345 O 2187262 JUN 75 FM AMEMBASSY TEL:AVIV

TO SECRTATE WASHDO 7191

INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRD 4986

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 3 TEL AVIV 3986

E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PPOR, XF, 15, US, 266 SUBJECT: HARIF ARTICLE ON SOI VIENS RESINTERIM AGREEMENT

#64: "Thegeovernment" has decided "Togalition thogas the prime has being the THE FOREZON MINISTER AND THE DERENSE HINISTER TO SERVE AS ITS NEGO-TIATING TEAM, THERE HERE THOSE WHO CLASHED THAT THE CONDUCT OF NESOTIATIONS WITH ESPRENT THROUGH THE U.S., SHOULD NOT SEE ENTRUSTED TO THAT TEAM EXCLUSIVELY. THE LIP MINISTERS AND THEY HERE NOT THE ONLY ONES & CAMARON YAOLIN AS HELL) & WANTED THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT STORES IN THE SECTURE THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTIA-Most Likeuy; The lie, ministers wanted to prevent a Bituation in which thresholder by the transfigure of the strangericulo shake: ITS IMPRINT ON THE RESOTIATIONS, BUT THEIR PROPOSAL WAS REJECTED. NEVERTHELESS, THE STAND HAS ADOPTED THAT THE NEGOTIATING TEAM HAS authorized to conquerthe talks , and to conclude then to hith gove ERNMENT APPROVAL -- POSTIVELY THAT IS TO SAY, FOR THE BURPOSE OF A Positive conclusion the team bot transcrib blanches soutties for some REASON THE TEAM SHOULD REACH THE CONCLUSION THAT THE TALKS CANNOT. belconceuded/positively, that?The/negotiations/have@to/ge/broken/ oppe==-:t7:18/not~entitledet0:0000000000015000wn-accord:and IANOBLIGATED TO BRINGSTHE MATTER BEFORESTHE BENTIRE DOVERNMENT FOR A DECISION.

THE SPECIAL CASINET SESSION THIS WEEK STRENGTHENED THE IMPRESSION THAT BASIN CAN EXPECT AN ARSUMENT NOT ONLY WITH THE WASHINGTON ADMINISTRATION, BUT ALSO WITH HIS OWN GOVERNMENT IN JERUSALEM, THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT A PARTIAL AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT WAS TO SE REACHED BECAUSE OTHERWISE WE SMALL GET INTO A CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S. PRACTICALLY SAY THAT IN THE END WE SHALL MAYE NO ALTERNATIVE BUTTTO GIVE UP THE ENTIRE RASSES. THIS CLAIM WAS VOICED BY QUITE A FEW IN THE COURSE OF THE POLITICAL DEBATE.

PSN1826658

RECALLED PAGE 01

TORA 173/00 (112: OTG: 2107262 JUN 75

- wewserst Not LEASSSI FILE DweenessCOPY

IN THIS RESPECT ONE HAS TO BE ABLE TO TREAD BETWEEN THE LINES IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THAT RABINIS ARBUMENT WILL PERHAPS BE NOT ONLY WITH TREGULAR! MINISTER, WE SHOULDN'T BE AT ALL SURPRISED IF THAT ARBUMENT WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE NEGOTIATING TEAM ITSELF, THE POREIGN MINISTER, POR INSTANCE, TALKED IN THE CABINET ABOUT THE NEED "FOR VERY MARO BARGAININGS AND THE NEED "TO EXPLORE THE NEGOTIATIONS EXHAUSTIVELY AND REACH A SETTLEMENT! ACCLOSE LOOK AT THAT FORMULATION WILL MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE EMPHASIS IS ON HORE HAS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT! THIS HEANS THAT THE FORMULATION FILEMENT! THE CONCESSION OF ALL! THE PASSES ENTIRELY.

tz. Tit seems that on this couestion one can also discrentacture: IN THINOR KEYTCOMING PROM DEFENSE HINISTER PERES. OUTSIDE THE CABINET PERES SAID THAT HE IS AGAINST AN ABSOLUTE CONCESSION OF THE PASSES (HE TOO MEANT THE EASTERN PART). IN THE POLITICAL DEBATES THIS HEEK, WITHIN THE CABINET SME OLD HOT EXPRESS HIS OPINION ON THAT SUBJECT AT ALL HE ANALYZIED WHY IT The Hib zietnion ether arabeeroblich (ISTToday) in habhingtone parabett IS HITH THE AMERICANS THAT WE HAVE TO REACH AN AGREEMENT IT HE Explained that buch and understanding Has Touconcentrate on the QUESTION OF THE DURATION OF THE SETTLEMENT (450 THAT THEY SHOULDN'T) CONELTO US EVERY THREE MONTHS AND TALK TO US ABOUT THE NECESSA! TTY TO MAKE AS MOVER LLL WE ARGUED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO Clarify: Incadvance: The State Doc Afrairs as Farcass syrta (is Cons-CERNED AND TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT WASHINGTON MEANS WHEN IT WAS THERE isoma/need-to-make-a-mmovemiiin-the-syriah-beciidh-ab-helli-iiit-hab-NECESSARY TO MAKE SITY CLEAR TO THE AMERICANS THAT IT WAS IMPORTANTS That Ballitheses things about dibe iclarizated deportioned grassing of thes PRACTICAL STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS. FOTHERWISE AS PERESSALD - THE SHALL HAVE TO EXPECT A FREASEBONENTY EVERY THREE HONTHOUT NO UNDERSTANDING WITH THE LUSS TERRENCHED PERES THENKS STHEAT S WRONG WITH THE PRESENT FREASSESSMENTICE.

HOWEVER, PERES SPOKE IN GENERALIZATIONS, ME DID NOT GO INTO DETAILS, AMONG THE DETAILS ME DID NOT GO INTO WERE THE MASSE.

THE MINISTERS PAID ATTENTION TO THAT FACT, PRECISELY BECAUSE OTHERS SPOKE ABOUT IT CLEARLY: THE PRIME MINISTER, SHUDNO MILLEL, AND GAD YAACOBI, AND ISRAEL BALGLI, HMO SPOKE IN HIS OWN WAY OF ADROPPING MINTS!, HE WANTED TO REMIND THE MEMBERS OF THE CASIM NET THAT IT HAD BEEN DECIDED THAT, WITHOUT AN EGYPTIAN MOVE, THERE WAS NO NEED FOR AN ISRAELI MOVE; AND ONE HAY ASSUME THAT IN THIS WAY HE MEANT TO SUPPORT THE PRIME MINISTER, WHO STATED THAT WITHIN THE PROAMEHORK OF THE KIND OF AGREEMENT WHICH THE EGYPTIANS - AND THE AMERICANS! HAD IN MIND, THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR GIVING UP THE MASSES ENTIRELY.

PANÍO26658 PAGE 02

TOR: (73/00)112 DTG:2107262 JUN 78

*******U N C. L. A. S. S. T. F. I. E. O. ****** S. CORY

*******U.N.C.L.A.S.S.I.P.I.C.D.e.****S.COPY

WANT TO DIG IN BEHIND A SHIRID POSITIONS, POSSIBLY, BUT IT IS:

18 A FACT THAT AT THIS STAGE THERE IS NO KNOWING WHETHER HERE

WILL BE UNANINITY OF VIEWS WITHIN THE NEGOTIATING TEAM AS FAR AS THE FINAL BLIMIT OF CONCESSIONS IS CONCERNED, EVEN AT THE PRICE OF A POSSIBLE CONVRONTATION WITH WASHINGTON, IF WE ARE TO BOUGHOUSE WENT WAY THE LAST DEBATE WENT WAND BY THE IMPRESSION THE CABINET MINISTER'S STAND WITHIN IS CABABLE OF BEING REGARDED BY THEM AS "SUSPECT", THEY BELIEVE HE IS CABABLE OF BEING RIDGID ONCE MORE.

Mas: Been : influenced :by::internal@factors:.it::is/a/fact?that: the shadon of moshe baxan bas phovering prover the discussions: of the tracet transing march. Moshe dayan has mot changed his mind. Moreoven, Johe Bray - Assume That Heven I fother nebotiating (transdectded) Beach A Settlement & Which Dedundthing Lude: An regyptian commités MENTETO TRADA DELLEGERENCY EL AND THE COYERNMENT NOULD NEVERTHELESS. BIVE UP THE PASSES ENTIRELY DAYAN HOULD COME OUT AGAINST SUCH a bettlement in the knesset, too. Ithat is to say, itelinethe knesset@a~broad=front~weregto~arise@that.would_include=the@wholes ofilickude asemelle aseknisseremembershoffother-ractions; "Dayan, nduld=even=vote=againff@the=government;=with=all=the=iconsequ# ENCES THIS WOULD HAVE STHE QUESTION IS, WHAT WILL THE LIBERALS DO Barthop: Nhom, are, in (rayor) of Lalpartial (settlement) () dayan (thinks: that monetal the stime eto speach as bettlement hith cecypt; sthat should put an endito the state of wars sand hithin the pranehorgs of isuch a SETTLEMENT IT WOULD BERTITING TO GIVE UP THE PASSES AND OTHER AREAS IN SINAI, ANY OTHER SETTLEMENT HOULD NOT GET US ANY Nearer: To reace, parallelitorthat ar dayan thinks of he have to reach a settlement with syria, beven atxtheprice or serious concessions, BUT THERE AGAIN, NOT ON A THARROW BASIST, WHICH WOULD OF NECESSITY BE BAD. 67

PBN1826658

RECALLED OF

TOR1173/091112

DTG1210726Z JUN 75

*******U NIC LEASSET PITTE D****** CORY

********U NOCELE A. SOS I FOI E DW****** CORY

OP: IMMED: E8A286ADA963: DE: RUGMAD: M3986/4: 1730866 O:R16726E: JUN: 75: FM: AMEMBASSY: TEL: AVIV

TO SECRETATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7196

INFO: AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE 4852:

Unclass final section of sastel saviv 3986

5.0. 116021 N/A

TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, US, PG

SUBJECT: HARIF ARTICLE ON GOILVIENS RE INTERIM AGREEMENT

ACCOUNT THIS TIME AS WELLS ESPECIALLY IF PEOPLE LIKE PERES AND YAACOBINKILLBEERARTNERSKIN THEBSHAFINGROF, THE LENEY LINRYHEESPIRIT OF WHAT YAACOSI SAID IN THE GOVERNMENT DEBATES AGAINST A TOTAL CONCESSION DESTHERRASSES. IN PAVOR OF WARNING SYSTEMS AGAINST A SURPRISE ATTACK. CIBRACLIS CLECTRONIC, MARNING SYSTEM IS NON-IN ANSAREAD WHICH DISRACLE IS: EXPECTED TO EVACUATE, ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM THAT AREA. BUT WANTS TO LEAVE A WARNING INSTALLATION TIN THE ISRAELI ENCLAVED. WHILE BEING WILLING TO LETETHER BOYPTIANS SET UP A WARNING IN # STALLATION IN THE ISRAELE AREAL. ta) (a) clear egyrtian/commitment as regards her modelofosemavior IN THE EVENT OF "MISUNDERSTANDINGS" BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE SYMIANS. AND THE MAIN THING POS SETTLEMENT THAT SHOULD INCLUDE CLEAR I.E. IF EGYPT IS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT Political Elements. HERRELF TO FRONGELLIGERENCY TIN THE FORMALISENSE SHE BOUGHT ATILEASTITO COMMIT HERSELF TO MAKE A CONCRETE EXPRESSION DECNOME. Bellegerency: For Instance? Passage of Israele Shops? Through The Suez Canal, Not Merely Permission For Passage of Eisraeliss BOUND CARGOES ON FOREIGN SMIPS.

21. HOWEVER, IT SEEMS THAT THE FIRM LINES WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER TAKES TODAY IS NOT INCLUENCED SOLELY BY INTERNAL CALCULATIONS. IN THIS RESPECT THE RABIN OF JUNES IS NOT THE SAME AS THE TRABIN OF MARCHS. IF HE STICKS TO HIS STAND, WHICH HE EXAMPLESSED IN THE SPECIAL CABINET SESSION, IN WHICH HE SUMMED UP HIS TALKS IN WASHINGTON (INTER ALIA, HE PROPOSED TO MAINTAIN SECRET CONTACTS BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND WASHINGTON, WHICH

PSN:826645

RECALLED PAGE Ø1

TOR: 173/89:682

DTG:210726Z:JUN:75

*******U. N.C.L.A S.S.I.P.I.E.D.*******CORY

WOULD ENSURE THE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR A POSITIVE SETTLES MENT, AND THE AMERICANS DID NOT REJECT THAT IDEAL STHE AMERICANS HILL HAVE TO COME TOWARDS ISRAEL, AND NOT ONLY DEMAND FROM ISRAEL, AND U.S. ENDEAVOUR TO STRENGTHEN MER POSITION IN THIS REGION.

Junatis Behind That Present type of RABING(A) OF COURSE. HE Believes: in The Righteousness of the Israeli...Demands, Jas. Long (As) THERE IS ANY DOUBT ABOUT EGYPTIS REAL INTENTIONS (AS FOR INSTANCE IN THE EVENT OF A FLARENDE ON THE SYRIAN RRONT). CB1 THERE IS NO reason_why/reypt_should_nof_give_israel_an appropriateJcounterb YALUE FOR CONCRETE ISRAELI CONCESSIONS. IN RABIN'S OPENION, THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY INCONCESSION MUST BE PRESERVED. THAT goes for a settlement with begyrt has well as all other settless MENTS THAT MAY FOLLOW: WHAT WILL BEFORERMINED CINETHE BEFTTLEMENTS with Egypt will phave an incluence regarnhere. (c) this concerns his PERSONAL STATUS AFTER THE INTERRUPTION DESTRECTALKS IN MARCHE RASIN explained thereovernment/sostandrat a certain-porunt. 只好工学研究的(s.a.), 经实现工产部的(s.a.d), 在我们的现代分别出现人民席们的代表的《节点》对某个对方代表的《意识自然》并为代学 OF THE PASSES, SAUT NOT FROM THE TEASTERN STORE OF UNDHABILIA ISSUE DUR HANDS. .. THE GIDISLINE ISSENTIRELY IN OUR HANDS. .. TODAY HE CANNOT DISAYON THAT STAND, NOT ONLY VISHABYIS THE OPPOSITION. Butsalso, vistalatisteis colleraduratinghis pearty, who esticketo ethat STAND, WITHOUTHENDANGERENGHIZSHOWNHEERSCNALHSTXTUSL.

23. - WHAT" ABOUTSTHEMSTAND STOWARDS (WASHINGTON) IN THEMEVENTMOF BOYPTIAN rigidityt is rabin. Preparedyto:risk a sconfrontation:withethe:buest as welly to eera that the cool trame of Minop Which brash shows in THE GAMEROF HERVES THAT IS NOW GOING ON BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND 才医内结曲头红底样。《本于数据集》在内口特问并示与内尼氏系统法文为下示印的《节目太子》自己自己不完成人士以下并任何不利用《节目尺层为节息》 Chith and Overall Destitlement on adholowur of Supretes (zetc) . Hash--Ington will have no alternative eventually as transactional is CONCERNED. when basin has asked finesendays inherher incits not. IMPRESSED BY THE PATTERN OF U.S. PRESSURE, HE REPLIED! STHEY ARE Pointing A. Gun Atome: But Theresis No Bullet in The Barrelli: However) Perhaps Theresis anadoltional Sexcealation for Grabin's COOL PRAME OF MINO, WHICH ISSO UNLIKE THAT OF QUITE A NUMBER OF other/ministroters; who freelispressroid by itime: and who igets all itn applutter: when -someonesmentions \appossible@confrontation=with THE U.S. PARIN IS SIMPLY CONVINCED THAT HIS BARGAINING POWER rxcrllent, sand .it : is : prresselly from that : rrason that : he loces inot : PEELSTHAT TIME IS PRESSING.

AG. IF THE AMERICANS PEEL THAT HTIME IS BURNING - LETT THEM DO SOMETHING, LETTHEM TRY THEIR HAND WITH THE EGYPTIANS. THIS MEANS THAT RASIN BELIEVES THAT THE GROUND IS BURNING.

RECALLED PAGE DE

TOR1173/891862: OTG:218726Z: JUN:75

Understhe Peet of The Egyptians Moresthan Understhe Israelist. Chaille Badat Belobe The Ganalo non-That Phe Phaboat Long Last orened itylicity the anericans want can intering settlement with 厚格学表示》:80 [李州太宇宇中州哲学] 840以上D。887。48以在中下0月李湖6长山6:李封在行为末学李君内印料李家的广节科化。 byrtans, (in the Belieffthat thithis hay they will bouckeed in NEUTRALIZING THE RUSSIANS AS RARMAS ROSSIBLE. TITLIS ROURNING FOR THEM TOO, 300, 2178 IT 38 URNING FOR EVERYONER, WHY DOES ISRAEL HAVESTO BESTHESONESTO PUT OUT ALLSTHES FIRESES

- SINCE RABING TOOK OVER STHEMPREHIERSHIPS AND STARTED STO DEVELOR HIS POLITICALLLENE HELHAS BEEN CONCENTRATING HIS ACT-IVITYNIINNTYNO "SPHERESISINNTHEN ISRAELEGGGGGGGBHERESANDSINITHE ISRAELINEGYPTIAN SPHERRY IN THRURINST STAGE THRUTIME FACTOR PLAYS. ato-from-the-u.s., Indarms and money, land-therefore-be-was-brewpared to go a long way mith washington, which was mensistently SECKING TO REACH ANOTHER INTERINGSETTLEMENTS WITH REGIPT SANDS WITH THE SYRIAMS. STHUSS THE PRIME WINDSTER WANAGED TO GET THROUGH HIS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE, WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF concesting anything to begret, while at the bame stime recessing Guite/A, Lot: (of Goodies) / Promither U/S. . It is possible that THEOU'S. CKISSINGER TO BEHEXACTIONASSIN RAVOR OF THE LINE: OF APESTRONG IBRARLE, SOM THAT IT SHOULD BE MORE ACCOMMODATING when the time came for concessions. This is perhaps where KISSINGER COMMITTED ANGERRORA THIS IS NOT HHYTISRAELUHANTED TO GEE STRONG, THANKS TO DIVERSIFIED U.S. ARMS, BUT IN ORDER TO BE ABLESTO SAY THOUSE when, / for considerations of Meriown Isme / felt forced/to/say/{tno#1 to-any-settlement-that-was-proposed. Which was-not-to-dherilitking.

PSYCHOLOGICALLY, THE PRIME MINISTER MAY BE RREPARED FOR CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S. , ALTHOUGH HE WILL, WITHOUT ANY ESHADOW (OFFICIOUST), MAKEZEVERYZEFFORTYTO/AVOIDZITJ (BUTZTME VERY OCCUBRATION WHICH MARE MADELIN THE GOVERNMENT, ITHAT SHEETS: PREPARED FOR A SETTLEMENT TOUT NOT AT ANY PRICE SE BOMETHINGS NHICH (HELACTUALLY ALBOCRATOSING RUBLIC Compthis) obligates (him) asca (leader) of Ethe Heorie; Proporand/Bythes (Hord) [Butethesches NOT WHY HE IS ASTUBBORNIL . ONLIKE OTHERS, HE SIMPLY BELIEVES. THATEIDARAEL呼\$EPOSITIONEI\$BENOTESOEHARDERRESSEDEATEALL; PTHATEBHEEISE FORCED TO RESORT TO MARKOUCTION IN PRICES, OR A MCREENING This belief of his is, DEVALUATION* IN HER POLITICAL PONDITIONS. apparently other basis ordrings say induthese days infinon, incrares in an IDEAL MANEUVERING POSITIONLL' VELIDTES. BT

PSN:626645

TORIETA/esteez OTGRESEREZEJUNETS



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 0800

PAGE U1 TEL AV 03906 01 OF 04 220855Z

RO ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISD-00 IU-10 SAM-01 SA8-01 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /063 W

- O 210726Z JUN 75 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SEUSTATE WASHDC 7189 INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

UNCLAS SECTION 1 OF 4 TEL AVIV 3906

CORRECTED CORY FOR SECTION INFO:

EXO. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, US, EG SUBJECT: MARIF ARTICLE ON GOI VIEWS RE INTERIM AGREEMENT

- 1. FOLLOWING IS EMBASSY TRANSLATION JUNE 20 OF ARTICLE BY MAARIV POLITICAL COMMENTATOR JOSEPH HARIF ON ISRAELI CABINET VIEWS TOWARD INTERIM GOE/GOI AGREEMENT.
- 2. BEGIN TEXT; THE CONCESSION WHICH YITZHAK RABIN MADE IN WASHINGTON: GIVING A TERRITORIAL STRIP TO EGYPT AT ABU RODEIS.
 (HE AGREED TO THAT FOLLOWING HINTS BY FORD THAT EGYPT
 HAS SOFTENED HER STAND CONCERNING THE DURATION
 OF THE PARTIAL SETTLEMENT. /ON THE OTHER
 HAND HE DID NUT CONCEDE THE POSITION ON THE EASTERN
 SIDE OF THE PASSES./ RABIN HAS AN ARGUMENT NOT ONLY
 WITH THE U.S. ADMINISTRATION, BUT ALSO WITH HIS
 CULLEAGUES IN THE CABINET. (COMMENTARY BY JUSEPH HARIF).
 - 3. IT SEEMS THAT THE CABINET MEMBERS HAVE NEVER BEEN SO CURIOUS TO KNOW WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER HAS BROUGHT WITH HIM FROM HIS VISIT TO THE U.S. AS THIS TIME, WHEN THEY GATHERED ON TUESDAY FOR AN EXTRAORDINARY CABINET SESSION TO HEAR RABIN'S REPORT ON HIS TALKS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND THE HEADS OF

UNCLASSIFIED



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03906 01 OF 04 220855Z

THE ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON. FIRST OF ALL, BECAUSE UNTIL HIS RETURN FROM THE U.S. RABIN DID NOT "LEAK" A WORD TO ANYONE SURPRISINGLY NOT EVEN TO FOREIGN MINISTER ALLON. ALLON HAD TO BE SATISFIED WITH THE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN HIMSELF AND THE PRIME MINISTER THAT, AS HE PUT IT, ONLY IF HE NEEDED ADVICE OR A DECISION BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE COURSE OF THE VISIT HE WOULD CONTACT HIM. APPARENTLY RABIN THOUGHT HE DID NOT NEED ANY ADVICE FROM HOME. ON HIS OWN ACCORD HE DECIDED THEN AND THERE TO OFFER A FURTHER CONCESSION TO EGYPT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF THE DECISION, WHICH THE GOVERNMENT HAD ADOPTED ON THE EVE OF RABIN'S DEPARTURE FOR THE U.S., "TO RE-EXAMINE ITS STAND PARALLEL TO ANY SUCH CHANGES AS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE EGYPTIAN STAND".

4. SECONDLY, THE OTHER REASON FOR THE GREAT CURIOSITY OF THE CABINET MEMBERS DERIVED, APPARENTLY, FROM THE REALIZATION THAT "THE PRIME MINISTER'S JOURNEY THIS TIME WAS FATEFUL (AS MINISTER SHEM-TOV SAID IN THE CABINET).

THE MAN WHO WAS LEAST EXCITED OF ALL WAS LEAST EXCITED OF ALL WAS APPARENTLY THE PRIME MINISTER, AS IS REFLECTED BY THE FACT THAT, DESPITE CONCEALED THREATS AND NOT SO CONCEALED PRESSURES BY WASHINGTON HE REMAINED "ADAMANT" DURING HIS VISIT AND THEREAFTER.

WHEN THE PRIME MINISTER WAS ASKED AT THE CABINET SESSION WHAT HIS EVALUATION WAS CONCERNING THE CHANCES OF KEACHING AN INTERIM AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT NOW, IN THE LIGHT OF THE CLARIFICATIONS IN THE U.S., HE REPLIED: "LESS THAN 50 : 50". THERE WERE QUITE A NUMBER OF CABINET MEMBERS WHO WERE PROBABLY SURPRISED TO HEAR THAT: FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S REPORT IT EMERGED THAT PRESIDENT FORD IS DETERMINED "TO DO EVERYTHING" IN ORDER TO PREVENT A CONTINUATION OF THE STALEMATE IN THIS REGION: THIS MEANS THAT (WITHOUT THE PRESIDENT HAVING EXPLICITLY SAID SO) AS LONG AS NOTHING HAS "MOVED" AND NO SETTLEMENT HAS BEEN REACHED, ISRAEL WOULD HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTIES AS FAR AS AID IS CONCERNED; THE CRISIS IN U.S.-ISRAELI RELATIONS WOULD BE AGGRAVA-TED; WASHINGTON WON'T BE ABLE TO SIT IDLE AND WOULD BE FORCED TO TAKE A NEW INITIATIVE WHICH WOULD NOT EXACTLY BE TO ISRAEL!S LIKING; A U.S. PLAN FOR AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT WOULD BE PRESENTED. THIS IS THE WHIP WHICH IS BEING APPLIED ON ISRAEL AS LONG AS WASHINGTON WANTS TO MAKE IT CLEAR WHAT TROUBLE ISRAEL IS LIABLE TO LET HERSELF IN FOR IF SHE DOES NOT SHOW THE REQUIRED FLEXIBILITY;



Department of State TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03906 01 OF 04 220855Z

THE WORD "OVERALL" (SETTLEMENT) IS EQUIVALENT TO A RETURN TO THE 1967 BORDERS!

6. NEVERTHELESS, RABIN DID NUT SHOW, AT THE SPECIAL CABINET SESSION, ANY SIGN OF WILLINGNESS TO ABANDON HIS POSITION, AS HE DESCRIBED IT JUST BEFORE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON. MOREOVER, SOME OF THE MINISTERS GOT THE IMPRESSION THAT IF THE ISRAELI STAND - WHICH THE PRIME MINISTER REGARDS AS RATHER GENEROUS AS LONG AS THE SUBJECT ON THE AGENDA IS A LIMITED AGREEMENT AND NOT A BROAD AGREEMENT WITHIN

THE FRAMEWORK OF WHICH EGYPT HAS TO COMMIT HERSELF TO NON-BELLIGERENC

IS NOT ACCEPTED, HE WOULD NOT HESITATE TO BRING ABOUT A SEVERANCE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS A SECOND TIME!
ONE OF THE STRIKING THINGS IN THE PRIME MINISTER'S VISIT TO THE WHITE HOUSE, IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF TENSION IN JERUSALEM-WASHINGTON RELA

TIONS WHICH PERHAPS HAD RELAXED BUT BY NO MEANS DISAPPEARED, WAS THAT KABIN SHOWED WILLINGNESS TO MAKE A FURTHER STEP TOWARDS THE U.S., RATHER THAN TOWARDS EGYPT, IN THE CLEAR REALIZATION THAT A CONFRONTATION WITH THE U.S., MUST BE AVOIDED; BUT UN THE OTHER HAND HE LEFT THE AMERICANS IN DOUBT AS TO THE FINAL LIMIT OF ISRAEL'S CONCESSIONS. IN OTHER WORDS, THE PRIME MINISTER CREATED A SITUATION IN WHICH THE ADMINISTRATION CANNOT ACCUSE HIM OF RIGIDITY AND OF PREVENTING ANY "MOVE", WITHOUT HIS HAVING CONCEDED, IN HIS EVALUATION, ANY BASIC REQUIREMENT ESPECIALLY AS FAR AS A FACTOR OF MILITARY-STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE IS CONCERNED.

7. WHEN RABIN HEARD FROM PRESIDENT FORD THAT HE COULD DISCERN A "MOVE" WITH THE EGYPTIANS AND THAT THERE WAS A CHANCE THAT CAIRD WOULD AGREE TO AN EXTENSION OF THE PERIOD OF TIME A COMPONENT OF THE INTERIM SETTLEMENT TO WHICH ISRAEL ATTACHES SO MUCH IMPORTANCE - IT WAS CLEAR THAT HE COULD NOT GO ON "MARKING TIME". THE PRESIDENT SPOKE FROANKLY ABOUT HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AT THE STALEMATE WHICH HAS BEEN CREATED (NOW THE WORD IS STALEMATE, NOT THE FAILURE OF THE TALKS) AND ABOUT THE DANGERS IN THE NON-ACHIEVEMENT OF AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT, NOT TO MENTION THE JOINT INTEREST WHICH ISRAEL AND THE U.S. OUGHT TO HAVE IN CREATING A REALITY IN THE MIDDLE EAST THAT WOULD BE DISIRABLE FOR ISRAEL NO LESS THAN FOR THE U.S. - I.E. THE CURTAILMENT OF SOVIET INFLUENCE.



TRIFGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 TEL AV 03906 01 OF 04 2208552

8. AT THE SAME OCCASION, ALTHOUGH FORD COULD NOT SHOW THAT HE HAD SOMETHING CONCRETE IN HIS HAND WHICH HE HAD RECEIVED FROM EGYPT, THE PRIME MINISTER FOUND HIMSELF (HAVING CONSULTED HIS OWN WISDOM) OFFERING AN ISRAELI CONCESSION: "RESPONDING TO THE DEMAND TO PROVIDE EGYPT WITH TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY" TO ABU RODEIS. BUT IN THEFRAMEWORK OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN MARCH, ISRAEL HAD



Department of State TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 0474

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03906 02 OF 03 211334Z

41 ACTION NEA-10

- INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 SAM-01 SAB-01 CIAE-00 DUDE-00

PM=03 H=02 INR=07 L=03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA=02 PRS-01

SP-02 SS-15 USIA-15 850-00 INRE-00 NSCE-00 /078 W

O 210726Z JUN 75 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7190 INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

UNCLAS SECTION 2 OF 3 TEL AVIV 3906 IMMEDIATE

E.O. 11652: N/A Tags: Pfor, Xf, Is, US, EG Subject: Harif Article on GOI views re interim agreement

AGREED THAT THE OIL FIELDS OF ABU RODEIS AND SURROUNDINGS WOULD BE HANDED OVER TO EGYPTIAN CIVILIAN RULE. ACCORDING TO THE ISRAELI PROPOSAL, IT WAS AN ENCLAVE THE APPROACH TO WHICH WAS FROM THE SEA. THIS TIME THE PRIME MINISTER AGREED TO PUT ON THE TABLE THE FIRST CONCESSION, AND AGREED TO THE IDEA OF TERRITORIAL CONTINUITY FROM LAND AS WELL (IN PRINCIPLE, TECHNICALLY, THE AREA WOULD HAVE TO BE DETERMINED, BECAUSE NOT FAR AWAY IS AN ISRAELI ROAD, LEADING TO EL TUR APPROACHING SHARM ES SHEIKH), BUT REFUSED TO AGREE TO A COMPLETE CONCESSION OF THE PASSES. HE INSISTED THAT THE EASTERN PART OF THE PASSES REMAIN IN ISRAELI HANDS. FOR THE SAKE OF ACCURACY, EVEN THE ADDITIONAL CONCESSION AT ABU RODEIS IS CONTINGENT UPON EGYPT'S AGREEMENT TO EXTEND THE DURATION UF THE AGREEMENT UP

9. WHY DID THE PRIME MINISTER SEE FIT TO MAKE THE CONCESSION, WHEN IT WAS NOT YET CLEAR WHETHER A PARALLEL CONCESSION, CONCERNING THE PERIOD OF TIME, WAS TO BE REGARDED AS FACT? HE COULD MAVE WAITED AND SEEN WHAT EGYPT WOULD PROPOSE AND ONLY AFTERWARDS HE COULD HAVE ANNOUNCED THE ISRAELI CONCESSION. ADMITTEDLY, FOR THE TIME BEING IT IS NOT ABSOLUTELY CLEAR WHAT EGYPT'S STAND IS,



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03906 02 OF 03 211334Z

BUT IS IS REASONABLE TO ASSUME THAT IF THE U.S. PRESIDENT, WHO PERSONALLY TALKED WITH SADAT ABOUT THE COMPONENTS OF THE SETTLEMENT WITH ISRAEL SAYS THAT HE ASSUMED THAT THERE IS A CHANCE THAT EGYPT WILL SOFTEN ON THE QUESTION OF THE TIME PERIOD OF THE AGREEMENT, THIS IS APPARENTLY MORE THAN A MERE ASSUMPTION. HOWEVER, THERE IS NO CERTAINTY THAT EGYPT WILL AGREE TO A DIRECT COMMITMENT TOWARDS ISRAEL, AND IT IS BECOMING CLEAR THAT FORD AND KISSINGER HAVE ALREADY TRIED TO PREPARE RABIN "PSYCHOLOGICALLY" FOR THE POSSIBILITY THAT THE EGYPTIAN COMMITMENT WOULD BE GIVEN TO THE U.S., AND THE U.S. WOULD COMMIT HERSELF TOWARDS ISRAEL (IN MARCH EGYPT WAS NOT PREPARED TO AGREE TO SUCH A PROPOSAL, AS ISRAEL DEMANDED). HOWEVER, EVEN THE INDIRECT COMMITMENT FOR A PERIOD OF 3 YEARS WAS ONLY DISCUSSED IN PRINCIPLE.

NOW IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER EGYPT WILL AGREE TO IT AND WHAT PRICE SHE WILL DEMAND FOR THAT "CONCESSION". IT IS DIFFICULT TO ASSUME THAT EGYPT WILL EASILY ABANDON HER DEMAND THAT ISRAEL CONCEDE THE ENTIRE PASSES, THIS IS PERHAPS THE REASON WHY THE PRIME MINISTER HAS PREPARED THE MINISTERS FOR A SITUATION IN WHICH THE CHANCES OF REACHING A SETTLEMENT ARE LESS THAN 50PERCENT, BECAUSE RABIN ON HIS PART HAS NOT,
SO FAR, SHOWN ANY SIGN OF WILLINGNESS TO ABANDON THE ENTIRE PASSES.
ONE OF HIS REASONS, PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT ONE, IS THAT, EVEN
IF EGYPT SHOULD COMMIT HERSELF NOT TO INTERVENE IN CASE NO
AGREEMENT IS REACHED BETWEEN ISRAEL AND SYRIA, IT IS NOT CERTAIN
THAT EGYPT WOULD INDEED STAND IDLY BY IN THE EVENT OF A RESUMPTION
OF WAR IN THE NORTH. AND SINCE EGYPT IS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT HER-

11. MINISTER GAD YAACOBI STRENGTHENED THIS ARGUMENT
OF THE PRIME MINISTER WITH AN ADDITIONAL MOTIVATION: THE VERY FACT
OF EGYPT'S INSISTENCE ON THE EVACUATION OF THE ENTIRE PASSES AROUSES
SEVERE SUSPICIONS THAT EGYPT DOES NOT REALLY HAVE AN INTERIM
SETTLEMENT MEANT TO PAVE THE WAY TOWARDS PEACE IN MIND, BUT WANTS
TO STRENGTHEN HER MILITARY OPTION IN TRYING TO BRING ABOUT ISRAEL'S
TOTAL WITHDRAWAL. FROM THIS VIEWPOINT MINISTER SHLOMD HILLEL WAS

EVEN MORE EXTREME, HE THINKS THAT WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF A LIMIT-ED AGREEMENT ISRAEL NEED NOT GIVE UP THE PASSES AT ALL (AND THIS

UNCLASSIFIED

SELF TO NON-BELLIGERENCY, ONLY TO THE "NON-USE OF FORCE",

WHICH IS, IN RABIN'S EVALUATION, OF STRATEGIC IMPORTANCE.

RABIN IS NOT PREPARED TO RELY ON EGYPT'S FAIRNESS AND HONESTY, BUT WANTS TO GO ON HOLDING ON TO THE EASTERN PART OF THE PASSES,

FORM DS 165



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03906 02 OF 03 211334Z

WAS INDEED THE ORIGINAL STAND OF THE ISRAELI NEGOTIATING TEAM AND THE GOVERNMENT).

ANOTHER REASON FOR RABIN'S WILLINGNESS TO OFFER ALREADY AT THIS STAGE THE CONCESSION OF ABU RODEIS - ADMITTEDLY "ON CONDITION" - LIES IN THE TENDENCY TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR ISRAELIS FRIENDS TO CONTINUE TO STAND BY HER SIDE. THE ADMINISTRATION'S "REASSESS MENT! WHOSE MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO EXERT A SERIES OF PRESSURES ON ISRAEL, HAD NOT BORNE THE EXPECTED FRUIT. ISRAEL'S REPLY HAD BEEN: "THE SENATORS! LETTER". THE ADMINISTRATION DID NOT CONCEAL ITS DISMAY AT THIS INITIATIVE ON THE PART OF ISRAEL, WHICH, NO DOUBT, MADE THINGS MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE ADMINISTRATION: BUT PRECISELY FOR THAT REASON IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THE "SENATORS' LETTER" AS AN "ASSET" AND NOT TO LET IT GO UP In Smoke, inter alia, it says in that letter, signed by 76 out OF 99 SENATORS, THAT "THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELT CONFLICT PROVES THAT EVERY ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL HAS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY MEANINGFUL STEPS TOWARDS PEACE ON THE PART OF HER ARAB NEIGHBORS". IF FORD COULD HAVE INDICATED THAT EGYPT IS PREPARED TO MAKE "A MEANINGFUL STEP" - LIKE AGREEING TO AN EXTENSION OF THE DUR-ATION OF THE AGREEMENT - THIS HOULD HAVE PLACED ISRAEL IN A DIFFICULT PUSITION. IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT MANY OF THE SIGNATURIES OF THE LETTER

IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT MANY OF THE SIGNATORIES OF THE LETTER WOULD HAVE ARGUED WITH ISRAEL THAT UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE SOME KIND OF CONCESSION WOULD PREVENT AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT, PRECISELY AT A TIME WHEN EGYPT SHOWS A MARKED DESIRE TO EFFECT A RAPPROCHE MENT WITH THE U.S.I

THUS, RABIN HAS MADE A CALCULATED MOVE. HE MADE A CONCESSION WHICH DOES NOT CAUSE GRAVE HARM FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW AND HAS THUS PUT THE U.S. AS WELL AS EGYPT TO THE TEST. EGYPT WILL HAVE TO PROVE WHETHER SHE INDEED MEANS TO MAKE A CONCRETE CONCESSION REGARDING THE DURATION OF THE AGREEMENT) FOR THE SAKE OF REACHING AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT; THE U.S. WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT ISRAEL IS INTRANSIGENT, AND THE U.S. WILL HAVE TO PROVE WHETHER SHE IS ABLE TO INFLUENCE ISRAEL ALONE BY MEANS OF HER "REASSESSMENT", INCLUDING THE ONE IN THE SPHERE OF HARDWARE AND ECONOMIC AID.

NOW THE U.S. HAS TO TRANSFER THE BALL INTO THE EGYPTIAN FIELD, WITHOUT HAVING GIVEN IN TO ISRAEL IN THE MATTER OF THE PASSES.

EVEN IF EGYPT SHOULD AGREE, EVENTUALLY, TO EXTEND THE DURATION OF

UNCLASSIFIED



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 TEL AV 03906 02 0F 03 2113347

THE AGREEMENT - BY MEANS OF AN INDIRECT COMMITMENT - SHE WILL MOST LIKELY NOT DO SO WITHOUT TRYING TO EXTORT FROM ISRAEL SOME MORE CONCESSIONS.

THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT WILL STAND THE TEST THAT IS AHEAD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IF WE ARE TO JUDGE BY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN THE CABINET, IT SEEMS THAT THE MATTER LARGELY DEPENDS ON ONE MAN- YITZHAK RABIN - WHO, TO THE AMAZEMENT OF THE DOVES IN THE GOVERNMENT, SHOWS A STRONG AND FIRM STAND. THAT'S WHAT IT WAS BEFORE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON- AND THAT'S WHAT IT SEEMS TO BE AFTER HE HAS COME BACK FROM THE USS.!



Department of State TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03906 02 OF 03 211334Z

WAS INDEED THE ORIGINAL STAND OF THE ISRAELI NEGOTIATING TEAM AND THE GOVERNMENT).

122 ANOTHER REASON FOR RABIN'S WILLINGNESS TO OFFER ALREADY AT THIS STAGE THE CONCESSION OF ABU RODELS - ADMITTEDLY "ON CONDITION" - LIES IN THE TENDENCY TO MAKE IT EASIER FOR ISRAEL'S FRIENDS TO CONTINUE TO STAND BY HER SIDE. THE ADMINISTRATION'S "REASSESS MENT" WHOSE MAIN PURPOSE WAS TO EXERT A SERIES OF PRESSURES ON ISRAEL. HAD NOT BORNE THE EXPECTED FRUIT. ISRAEL'S REPLY HAD BEEN: "THE SENATORS! LETTER". THE ADMINISTRATION DID NOT CONCEAL ITS DISMAY AT THIS INITIATIVE ON THE PART OF ISRAEL, WHICH, NO DOUBT, MADE THINGS MORE DIFFICULT FOR THE ADMINISTRATIONS BUT PRECISELY FOR THAT REASON IT WAS IMPORTANT TO PRESERVE THE "SENATORS" LETTER" AS AN "ASSET" AND NOT TO LET IT GO UP IN SMOKE, INTER ALIA, IT SAYS IN THAT LETTER, SIGNED BY 76 OUT OF 99 SENATORS, THAT "THE HISTORY OF THE ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT PROVES THAT EVERY ISRAELI WITHDRAWAL HAS TO BE ACCOMPANIED BY MEANINGFUL STEPS TOWARDS PEACE ON THE PART OF HER ARAB NEIGHBORS". IF FORD COULD HAVE INDICATED THAT EGYPT IS PREPARED TO MAKE "A MEANINGFUL STEP" - LIKE AGREEING TO AN EXTENSION OF THE DUR-ATION OF THE AGREEMENT - THIS WOULD HAVE PLACED ISRAEL IN A DIFFICULT PUSITION. IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT MANY OF THE SIGNATURIES OF THE LETTER

IT IS ALMOST CERTAIN THAT MANY OF THE SIGNATORIES OF THE LETTER WOULD HAVE ARGUED WITH ISRAEL THAT UNWILLINGNESS TO MAKE SOME KIND OF CONCESSION WOULD PREVENT AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT, PRECISELY AT A TIME WHEN EGYPT SHOWS A MARKED DESIRE TO EFFECT A RAPPROCHEMENT WITH THE U.S.I

THUS, RABIN HAS MADE A CALCULATED MOVE. HE MADE A CONCESSION WHICH DOES NOT CAUSE GRAVE HARM FROM THE MILITARY POINT OF VIEW AND HAS THUS PUT THE U.S. AS WELL AS EGYPT TO THE TEST. EGYPT WILL HAVE TO PROVE WHETHER SHE INDEED MEANS TO MAKE A CONCRETE CONCESSION REGARDING THE DURATION OF THE AGREEMENT) FOR THE SAKE OF REACHING AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT; THE U.S. WILL NOT BE ABLE TO CLAIM THAT ISRAEL IS INTRANSIGENT, AND THE U.S. WILL HAVE TO PROVE WHETHER SHE IS ABLE TO INFLUENCE ISRAEL ALONE BY MEANS OF HER "REASSESSMENT", INCLUDING THE ONE IN THE SPHERE OF HARDWARE AND ECONOMIC AID.

NOW THE U.S. HAS TO TRANSFER THE BALL INTO THE EGYPTIAN FIELD, WITHOUT HAVING GIVEN IN TO ISRAEL IN THE MATTER OF THE PASSES.

EVEN IF EGYPT SHOULD AGREE, EVENTUALLY, TO EXTEND THE DURATION OF

UNCLASSIFIED



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 TEL AV 03906 02 0F 03 2113347

THE AGREEMENT - BY MEANS OF AN INDIRECT COMMITMENT - SHE WILL MOST LIKELY NOT DO SO WITHOUT TRYING TO EXTORT FROM ISRAEL SOME MORE CONCESSIONS.

14. THE QUESTION ARISES WHETHER THE ISRAEL GOVERNMENT WILL STAND THE TEST THAT IS AHEAD IN THE NEXT FEW DAYS. IF WE ARE TO JUDGE BY SCHOOLS OF THOUGHT IN THE CABINET, IT SEEMS THAT THE MATTER LARGELY DEPENDS ON ONE MAN YITZHAK RABIN - WHO, TO THE AMAZEMENT OF THE DOVES IN THE GOVERNMENT, SHOWS A STRONG AND FIRM STAND. THAT'S WHAT IT WAS BEFORE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON- AND THAT'S WHAT IT SEEMS TO BE AFTER HE HAS COME BACK FROM THE U.S. I



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 0804

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03906 03 OF 03 2208272

20 ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 SAM-01 SAB-01 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INK-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /063 W

O 210726Z JUN 75 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7191 INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO

UNCLAS SECTION 3 OF 4 TEL AVIV 3906

E.O. 116521 N/A
TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, US; EG
SUBJECT: HARIF ARTICLE ON GOI VIEWS RE INTERIM AGREEMENT

15% THE GOVERNMENT HAS DECIDED TO AUTHORIZE THE PRIME MINISTER, THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND THE DEFENSE MINISTER TO SERVE AS ITS NEGO-TIATING TEAM. THERE WERE THOSE WHO CLAIMED THAT THE CONDUCT OF NEGOTIATIONS WITH EGYPT, THROUGH THE U.S., SHOULD NOT BE ENTRUSTED TO THAT TEAM EXCLUSIVELY. THE ILP MINISTERS- AND THEY WERE NOT THE UNLY ONES - (AHARON YADLIN AS WELL) - WANTED THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT "TO BE IN THE PICTURE" THROUGHOUT THE NEGOTI-ATIONS. MOST LIKELY, THE ILP MINISTERS WANTED TO PREVENT A SITUATION IN WHICH THE "HAWKISH" PART OF THE TEAM SHOULD MAKE ITS IMPRINT ON THE NEGOTIATIONS. BUT THEIR PROPOSAL WAS REJECTED. NEVERTHELESS, THE STAND WAS ADOPTED THAT THE NEGOTIATING TEAM WAS AUTHORIZED TO CONDUCT THE TALKS, AND TO CONCLUDE THEM - WITH GOV-ERNMENT APPROVAL - POSITIVELY. THAT IS TO SAY, FOR THE PURPOSE OF A POSITIVE CONCLUSION THE TEAM GOT "CARTE BLANCHE"; BUT IF FOR SOME REASON THE TEAM SHOULD REACH THE CONCLUSION THAT THE TALKS CANNOT BE CONCLUDED POSITIVELY, THAT THE NEGOTIATIONS HAVE TO BE BROKEN OFF - IT IS NOT ENTITLED TO DO SO ON ITS OWN ACCORD AND IS OBLIGATED TO BRING THE MATTER BEFORE THE ENTIRE GOVERNMENT FOR A DECISION.

16% THE SPECIAL CABINET SESSION THIS WEEK STRENGTHENED THE IMPRESSION THAT RABIN CAN EXPECT AN ARGUMENT NOT ONLY WITH THE





TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03906 03 OF 03 2208272

WASHINGTON ADMINISTRATION, BUT ALSO WITH HIS OWN GOVERNMENT IN JERUSALEM. THOSE WHO CLAIM THAT A PARTIAL AGREEMENT WITH EGYPT HAS TO BE REACHED BECAUSE OTHERWISE WE SHALL GET INTO A CON-FRONTATION WITH THE U.S. - PRACTICALLY SAY THAT IN THE END WE SHALL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO GIVE UP THE ENTIRE PASSES. THIS CLAIM WAS VOICED BY QUITE A FEW IN THE COURSE OF THE POLITICAL DEBATE. IN THIS RESPECT ONE HAS TO BE ABLE TO "READ BETWEEN THE LINES" IN ORDER TO UNDERSTAND THAT RABIN'S ARGUMENT WILL PERHAPS BE NOT ONLY WITH "REGULAR" MINISTER. WE SHOULDN'T BE AT ALL SURPRISED IF THAT ARGUMENT WILL TAKE PLACE WITHIN THE NEGOTIATING TEAM ITSELF. THE FOREIGN MINISTER, FOR INSTANCE, TALKED IN THE CABINET ABOUT THE NEED "FOR VERY HARD BARGAINING" AND THE NEED "TO EXPLORE THE NEGOTIATIONS EXHAUSTIVELY AND REACH A SETTLEMENT". A CLOSE LOOK AT THAT FORMULATION WILL MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE EMPHASIS IS ON "ONE HAS TO REACH A SETTLEMENT"; THIS MEANS THAT THE FOR-EIGN MINISTER, TOO, TAKES INTO ACCOUNT THE CONCESSION OF ALL THE PASSES ENTIRELY.

IT SEEMS THAT ON THIS QUESTION ONE CAN ALSO DISCERN A TUNE IN "MINOR KEY"COMING FROM DEFENSE MINISTER PERES. DUTSIDE THE CABINET PERES SAID THAT HE IS AGAINST AN ABSOLUTE CONCESSION OF THE PASSES (HE TOO MEANT THE EASTERN PART). IN THE POLITICAL DEBATE, THIS WEEK, WITHIN THE CAMINET, HE DID NOT EXPRESS HIS OPINION ON THAT SUBJECT AT ALL! HE ANALYZIED WHY IT WAS IMPORTANT TO REACH AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT. HE EXPLAINED THAT IN HIS IPINION "THE ARAB PROBLEM IS TODAY IN WASHINGTON, AND IT IS WITH THE AMERICANS THAT WE HAVE TO REACH AN AGREEMENTS! HE EXPLAINED THAT SUCH AN UNDERSTANDING HAS TO CONCENTRATE ON THE QUESTION OF THE DURATION OF THE SETTLEMENT ("SO THAT THEY SHOULDN'T COME TO US EVERY THREE MONTHS AND TALK TO US ABOUT THE NECESS-ITY TO MAKE A "MOVE" HE ARGUED THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO CLARIFY IN ADVANCE THE STATE OF AFFAIRS AS FAR AS SYRIA IS CON-CERNED, AND TO KNOW EXACTLY WHAT WASHINGTON MEANS WHEN IT SAYS THERE IS A NEED TO MAKE A "MOVE" IN THE SYRIAN SECTOR AS WELL. IT WAS NECESSARY TO MAKE IT CLEAR TO THE AMERICANS THAT IT WAS IMPORTANT THAT ALL THESE THINGS SHOULD BE CLARIFIED BEFORE ONE GETS INTO THE PRACTICAL STAGE OF NEGOTIATIONS. "OTHERWISE" - PERES SAID - "WE SHALL HAVE TO EXPECT A PREASSESSMENT! EVERY THREE MONTHS ... "IF NO. UNDERSTANDING WITH THE U.S. IS REACHED! PERES THINKS, "WHAT!S

WRONG WITH THE PRESENT 'REASSESSMENT'?" ...



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03906 03 OF 03 220827Z

HOWEVER, PERES SPOKE IN GENERALIZATIONS. HE DID NOT GO INTO DETAILS, AMONG THE DETAILS HE DID NOT GO INTO WERE THE PASSE. THE MINISTERS PAID ATTENTION TO THAT FACT, PRECISELY BECAUSE OTHERS SPOKE ABOUT IT CLEARLY: THE PRIME MINISTER, SHLOWO HILLEL, AND GAD YAACOBI. AND ISRAEL GALILI, WHO SPOKE IN HIS OWN WAY OF "DROPPING HINTS", HE WANTED TO REMIND THE MEMBERS OF THE CABI-NET THAT IT HAD BEEN DECIDED THAT, WITHOUT AN EGYPTIAN MOVE, THERE WAS NO NEED FOR AN ISRAELI MOVE; AND ONE MAY ASSUME THAT IN THIS WAY HE MEANT TO SUPPORT THE PHIME MINISTER, WHO STATED THAT WITHIN THE FROMMEWORK OF THE KIND OF AGREEMENT WHICH THE EGYPTIANS - AND THE AMERICANS-HAD IN MIND, THERE WAS NO ROOM FOR GIVING UP THE PASSES ENTIRELY. ONE OF THE MINISTERS REMARKED THAT "APPARENTLY PERES DID NOT WANT TO DIG IN BEHIND A RIGID POSITION". POSSIBLY. BUT IT IS IS A FACT THAT AT THIS STAGE THERE IS NO KNOWING WHETHERTHERE WILL BE UNANIMITY OF VIEWS WITHIN THE NEGOTIATING TEAM AS FAR AS THE FINAL "LIMIT OF CONCESSIONS" IS CONCERNED, EVEN AT THE PRICE OF A POSSIBLE CONVRONTATION WITH WASHINGTON. IF WE ARE TO GO BY THE WAY THE LAST DEBATE WENT - AND BY THE IMPRESSION THE CABINET MINISTERS GOT FROM THE PRIME MINISTER'S STAND - RABIN IS REGARDED BY THEM AS "SUSPECT", THEY BELIEVE HE IS CAPABLE OF BEING RIDGID ONCE MORE.

193 THERE IS ALMOST NO DOUBT THAT THE PRIME MINISTER'S "MARD LINE" HAS BEEN INFLUENCED BY INTERNAL FACTORS. IT IS A FACT THAT THE SHADOW OF MOSHE DAYAN WAS "HOVERING" OVER THE DISCUSSIONS OF THE ISRAELI TEAM IN MARCH. MOSHE DAYAN HAS NOT CHANGED HIS MINDS MOREOVER, OME MAY ASSUME THAT EVEN IF THE NEGOTIATING TEAM DECIDED TO REACH A SETTLEMENT, WHICH DID NOT INCLUDE AN EGYPTIAN COMMIT-MENT TO "NON-BELLIGERENCY", AND THE GOVERNMENT WOULD NEVERTHELESS GIVE UP THE PASSES ENTIRELY- DAYAN WOULD COME OUT AGAINST SUCH A SETTLEMENT IN THE KNESSET, TUU. THAT IS TO SAY, IF IN THE KNESSET A BROAD FRONT WERE TO ARISE THAT WOULD INCLUDE THE WHOLE OF LIKUD AS WELL AS KNESSET MEMBERS OF OTHER FACTIONS, DAYAN WOULD EVEN VOTE AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT, WITH ALL THE CONSEQUE ENCES THIS WOULD HAVE. (THE QUESTION IS, WHAT WILL THE LIBERALS DO PART OF WHOM ARE IN FAVOR OF A PARTIAL SETTLEMENT). DAYAN THINKS THAT NOW IS THE TIME TO REACH A SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT, THAT WOULD PUT AN END TO THE STATE OF WAR, AND WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SUCH A SETTLEMENT IT WOULD BE FITTING TO GIVE UP THE PASSES AND



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 TEL AV 03905 03 OF 03 2208272

OTHER AREAS IN SINAL ANY OTHER SETTLEMENT WOULD NOT GET US ANY NEARER TO PEACE, PARALLEL TO THAT - DAYAN THINKS - WE HAVE TO REACH A SETTLEMENT WITH SYRIA, EVEN AT THE PRICE OF SERIOUS CONCESSIONS, BUT THERE AGAIN, NOT ON A INARROW BASIS!, WHICH WOULD OF NECESSITY BE BAD.



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED 0799

PAGE 01 TEL AV 03906 04 OF 04 2208472

20 ACTION NEA-10

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-10 SAM-01 SAB-01 SSO-00 INRE-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-03 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-02 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /063 W

O 210726Z JUN 75 FM AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 7196 INFO AMEMBASSY CAIRO IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS FINAL SECTION OF 4 TEL AVIV 3906

E.O. 11652: N/A TAGS: PFOR, XF, IS, US; EG SUBJECT: HARIF ARTICLE ON GOI VIEWS RE INTERIM AGREEMENT

ONE MAY ASSUME THAT SUCH OPINIONS WILL BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT THIS TIME AS WELL, ESPECIALLY IF PEOPLE LIKE PERES AND VAACOBI WILL BE PARTNERS IN THE SHAPING OF THE LINE, IN THE SPIRIT OF WHAT YAACOBI SAID IN THE GOVERNMENT DEBATE! AGAINST A TOTAL CONCESSION OF THE PASSES. IN FAVOR OF WARNING SYSTEMS AGAINST A SURPRISE ATTACK. CISRAEL'S ELECTRONIC WARNING SYSTEM IS NOW IN AN AREA WHICH ISRAEL IS EXPECTED TO EVACUATE. ISRAEL IS PREPARED TO WITHDRAW FROM THAT AREA BUT WANTS TO LEAVE A WARNING INSTALLATION "IN THE ISRAELI ENCLAYER, WHILE BEING WILLING TO LET THE EGYPTIANS SET UP A WARNING IN-STALLATION IN THE ISRAELI AREA). (#) A CLEAR EGYPTIAN COMMITMENT AS REGARDS HER MODE OF BEHAVIOR IN THE EVENT OF "MISUNDERSTANDINGS" BETWEEN ISRAEL AND THE SYRIANS: (#) AND THE MAIN THING - A SETTLEMENT THAT SHOULD INCLUDE CLEAR IJE. IF EGYPT IS NOT PREPARED TO COMMIT POLITICAL ELEMENTS, HERSELF TO "NON-BELLIGERENCY" IN THE FORMAL SENSE, SHE OUGHT AT LEAST TO COMMIT HERSELF TO MAKE A CONCRETE EXPRESSION OF NON-BELLIGERENCY. FOR INSTANCE, PASSAGE OF ISRAELI SHOPS THROUGH THE SUEZ CANAL, NOT MERELY PERMISSION FOR PASSAGE OF ISRAELI-BOUND CARGOES ON FOREIGN SHIPS.



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 02 TEL AV 03906 04 OF 04 2208472

MINISTER TAKES TODAY IS NOT INFLUENCED SOLELY BY INTERNAL CALCULATIONS. IN THIS RESPECT THE RABIN OF JUNE IS NOT THE SAME AS THE "RABIN OF MARCH". IF HE STICKS TO HIS STAND, WHICH HE EXPRESSED IN THE SPECIAL CABINET SESSION, IN WHICH HE SUMMED UP HIS TALKS IN WASHINGTON (INTER ALIA, HE PROPOSED TO MAINTAIN SECRET CONTACTS BETWEEN JERUSALEM AND WASHINGTON, WHICH WOULD ENSURE THE CONCLUSION OF NEGOTIATIONS FOR A POSITIVE SETTLEMENT, AND THE AMERICANS DID NOT REJECT THAT IDEA) - THE AMERICANS WILL HAVE TO COME TOWARDS ISRAEL, AND NOT ONLY DEMAND FROM ISRAEL "UNDERSTANDING" FOR THE U.S. AND U.S. ENDEAVOUR TO STRENGTHEN HER POSITION IN THIS REGION.

WHAT'S BEHIND THAT "RIGIDITY" OF RABIN? (A) OF COURSE, HE BELIEVES IN THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE ISRAELI DEMANDS, AS LONG AS THERE IS ANY DOUBT ABOUT EGYPT'S REAL INTENTIONS (AS FOR INSTANCE IN THE EVENT OF A FLARE-UP ON THE SYRIAN FRONT). (B) THERE IS NO REASON WHY EGYPT SHOULD NOT GIVE ISRAEL AN APPROPRIATE COUNTER-VALUE FOR CONCRETE ISRAELI CONCESSIONS. IN RABIN'S OPINION, THE PRINCIPLE OF MUTUALITY INCONCESSION MUST BE PRESERVED, THAT GOES FOR A SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT AS WELL AS ALL OTHER SETTLE-MENTS THAT MAY FOLLOW, WHAT WILL BE DETERMINED (IN THE SETTLEMENT). WITH EGYPT WILL HAVE AN INFLUENCE ELBEWHERE. (C) THIS CONCERNS HIS PERSONAL STATUS: AFTER THE INTERRUPTION OF THE TALKS IN MARCH, RABIN EXPLAINED THE GOVERNMENT'S STAND AT A CERTAIN FORUM. UNITHIN A LIMITED AGREEMENT WE ARE PREPARED TO WITHORAW FROM PART OF THE PASSES, BUT NOT FROM THE EASTERN SIDE - UM HASHIVA IS IN DUR HANDS ... THE GIDI LINE IS ENTIRELY IN OUR HANDS ... " TODAY HE CANNOT DISAVOW THAT STAND, NOT ONLY VIS-A-VIS THE OPPOSITION. BUT ALSO VIS A VIS HIS COLLEAGUES IN HIS PARTY WHO STICK TO THAT STAND, WITHOUT ENDANGERING HIS OWN PERSONAL STATUS.

23. WHAT ABOUT THE STAND TOWARDS WASHINGTON IN THE EVENT OF EGYPTIAN RIGIDITY? IS RABIN PREPARED TO RISK A CONFRONTATION WITH THE USS. AS WELL? IT SEEMS THAT THE COOL FRAME OF MIND WHICH RABIN SHOWS IN THE GAME-OF-NERVES THAT IS NOW GOING ON BETWEEN WASHINGTON AND JERUSALEM, STEMS FROM HIS REALIZATION THAT DESPITE ALL THE THREATS (WITH AN OVERALL SETTLEMENT OR A HOLD-UP OF SUPPLIES, ETC.) WASH-INGTON WILL HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE EVENTUALLY AS FAR AS ISRAEL IS



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 03 TEL AV 03906 04 OF 04 220847Z

CONCERNED.

WHEN RABIN WAS ASKED, THESE DAYS, WHETHER HE IS NOT

IMPRESSED BY THE PATTERN OF U.S. PRESSURE, HE REPLIED: "THEY ARE

POINTING A GUN AT ME, BUT THERE IS NO BULLET IN THE BARRELS.."

HOWEVER, PERHAPS THERE IS AN ADDITIONAL EXPLANATION FOR RABIN'S

COOL FRAME OF MIND, WHICH IS SO UNLIKE THAT OF QUITE A NUMBER OF

OTHER MINISTERS, WHO FEEL PRESSED BY TIME AND WHO GET ALL IN

A FLUTTER WHEN SOMEONE MENTIONS A POSSIBLE CONFRONTATION WITH

THE U.S. RABIN IS SIMPLY CONVINCED THAT HIS BARGAINING POWER IS

EXCELLENT, AND IT IS PRECISELY FOR THAT REASON THAT HE DOES NOT

FEEL THAT TIME IS PRESSING.

24. IF THE AMERICANS FEEL THAT "TIME IS BURNING" - LET THEM DO SOMETHING, LET THEM TRY THEIR HAND WITH THE EGYPTIANS. THIS MEANS THAT RABIN BELIEVES THAT THE GROUND IS "BURNING" UNDER THE FEET OF THE EGYPTIANS MORE THAN UNDER THE ISRAELIS. ("WILL SADAT CLOSE THE CANAL NOW THAT HE HAS AT LONG LAST OPENED IT?"...") THE AMERICANS WANT AN INTERIM SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT, SO THAT THEY SHOULD BE ABLE TO TACKLE THE MATTER WITH THE SYRIANS, IN THE BELIEF THAT IN THIS WAY THEY WILL SUCCEED IN NEUTRALIZING THE RUSSIANS AS RAR AS POSSIBLE. IT IS "BURNING" FOR THEM TOO. SO, IF IT "BURNING FOR EVERYONE", WHY DOES ISRAEL HAVE TO BE THE ONE TO PUT OUT ALL THE "FIRES"?

SINCE RABIN TOOK OVER THE PREMIERSHIP AND STARTED TO DEVELOP HIS POLITICAL LINE, HE HAS BEEN CONCENTRATING HIS ACT-IVITY IN TWO SPHERES: IN THE ISRAELI-U.S. SPHERE AND IN THE ISRAELI-EGYPTIAN SPHERE. IN THE FIRST STAGE THE TIME FACTOR PLAY-A ROLE OF FIRST IMPORTANCE. HE HAD TO ENSURE FOR ISRAEL MAX-AID FROM THE USSE, IN ARMS AND MONEY, AND THEREFORE HE WAS PRE-PARED TO GO A LONG WAY WITH WASHINGTON, WHICH WAS PERSISTENTLY SEEKING TO REACH ANOTHER INTERIM SETTLEMENT WITH EGYPT AND WITH THE SYRIANS. THUS THE PRIME MINISTER MANAGED TO GET THROUGH HIS FIRST YEAR IN OFFICE, WITHOUT THE NECESSITY OF CONCEDING ANYTHING TO EGYPT, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME RECEIVING QUITE A LOT (OF GOODIES) FROM THE U.S. IT IS POSSIBLE THAT THE U.S. (KISSINGER TO BE EXACT) WAS IN FAVOR OF THE LINE OF A "STRONG ISRAEL", SO THAT IT SHOULD BE MURE ACCOMMODATING WHEN THE TIME CAME FOR CONCESSIONS. THIS IS PERHAPS WHERE KISSINGER COMMITTED AN ERROR. THIS IS NOT WHY ISRAEL WANTED TO BE STRONG, THANKS TO DIVERSIFIED U.S. ARMS, BUT IN ORDER TO BE



TELEGRAM

UNCLASSIFIED

PAGE 04 TEL AV 03906 04 OF 04 2208472

ABLE TO SAY "NO!"
WHEN, FOR CONSIDERATIONS OF HER OWN SHE FELT FORCED TO SAY "NO"!
TO ANY SETTLEMENT THAT WAS PROPOSED, WHICH WAS NOT TO HER LIKING.

PSYCHOLOGICALLY, THE PRIME MINISTER MAY BE PREPARED FOR 26. A !CONFRONTATION! WITH THE U.S., ALTHOUGH HE WILL, WITHOUT ANY SHADOW OF DOUBT, MAKE EVERY EFFORT TO AVOID IT! BUT THE VERY DECLARATION WHICH HE MADE IN THE GOVERNMENT, THAT HE IS PREPARED FOR A SETTLEMENT 'BUT NOT AT ANY PRICE! - SOMETHING WHICH HE ACTUALLY ALSO SAID IN PUBLIC - THIS OBLIGATES HIM, AS A LEADER OF THE PEOPLE, TO STAND BY HIS WORD. BUT THIS IS NOT WHY HE IS "STUBBORN". UNLIKE OTHERS, HE SIMPLY BELIEVES THAT ISRAEL'S POSITION IS NOT SO HARD PRESSED AT ALL, THAT SHE IS FORCED TO RESORT TO "A REDUCTION IN PRICES", OR A "CREEPING" DEVALUATION" IN HER POLITICAL CONDITIONS. THIS BELIEF OF HIS IS APPARENTLY THE BASIS FOR HIS SAYING THESE DAYS! "NOW, WE ARE IN AN IDEAL MANEUVERING POSITION ... " VELIOTES